2:Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

648 797 100 years, for Marabout and Shorfa families of the North often found it advantageous to move southward and attach themselves to Tuareg tribes or clans whom they then proceeded to stir up against the French and Italian newcomers. In this way the Koran became a kind of battle flag of local resistance to European penetration throughout the Sahara. The Camel Corps troops, who have long maintained order for the European rulers of the Desert, have always been recruited mainly from among Moslem Arab nomad tribes, notably the Chaamba, and their thinly scattered garrisons and outposts in the Tuareg country soon came to serve as centers for the continuing diffusion of Islamic doctrine. And finally it has [582] become less and less unusual for noble ladies of the Ahaggar to marry men of Arab Shorfa or Maraboutic families. Thus racial and religious penetration have marched hand-in-hand into the Tuareg country, following the path that leads through adversity to union in a common cause, and so to bed.

792 The basic relationship between the "living saints" and the warlike nomads of the Sahara Desert is clearly stated in the Old Testament, as Monod (1947, pp. 72–73) has pointed out with keen insight and inimitable wit. In Esau and Jacob he recognized the pastoral nomad warrior and the holy man of the Sahara, where Marabouts and Shorfa families used to parley instead of fighting and bought off raiders just as Esau bought off Jacob long ago (Genesis, 32). In Monod's words: "The Marabout's soul is in anguish at this extreme but inevitable generosity which he imposes on himself, but he would a thousand times rather have anguish in his soul than brought into his body in the shape of a sharp javelin ending its whistling flight between his shoulders. But there are times when the Marabout gets his revenge for the humiliating brutality of the warrior. The latter is indeed too simple not to be superstitious, and so, with the roles reversed, there comes a day when he in turn will tremble before the religious chief and implore the blessing of the sorcerer on his raids; for who would dare undertake such an expedition without the magic formulae and the amulet which will assure success for the enterprise and personal safety in combat? The man of God alone confers, and not without a price,

2:Briggs E-4,5 (ca.1956) 1958
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

792 000 the power that is entrusted to him; and the man of the sword pays. It is indeed his turn." As a typical example of a nomad warrior buying the benediction of a holy man, Monod cites the transaction between Abram and Melchizedek, "the priest of the most high God" (Genesis, *14:* 18–20), and he reconstructs the scene in imaginative but wholly convincing detail drawn from his long experience among desert nomad tribes. After Melchizedek had invoked the blessing of God on Abram, the latter said: "How much will that be?" "Nay, my lord is joking," replied Melchizedek, "It's free, I *give* my blessing; I *give* it to him." And Abram bowed down and said (thinking that after all if the blessing wasn't paid for it might not work, and knowing only too well moreover what his interlocutor meant by "gift"): "Harken unto me: I give the price of the blessing and of the amulets for my camels; accept it of me." And Melchizedek answered him: "Let not my lord be vexed, and may he harken unto me: I do not sell him power, I give it to him. But if in return he chooses to bring me the tenth part of all that is his, what is that between us?" And Abram understood, "And he gave him tithes of all" (Genesis, *14:* 20).[14] Nothing could be more characteristic of desert nomads and revealing of the basic relationship between them and holy men in the Sahara Desert and elsewhere.

105 **Summary.** The Tuareg of the Ahaggar are a diversified pastoral nomadic group who live in a very arid mountainous massif, an environment that requires extreme mobility.

Their social organization seems to be based on essentially matrilineal and patriarchal extended and joint family clans which are grouped into tribes that form a confederation. There are two main social classes, commonly referred to as "nobles" and "vassals," and rank, which embodies the right of succession to authority, is inherited in the female line, but a new chief can take and hold office only by consent of a general council of all male heads of families or clans who come under his control. This is doubtless because the clans that are strongest in terms of material wealth and fighting manpower as well are in the

[14] The King James Version of the Old Testament does not make quite clear just who gave tithes to whom, but Knox (1948, p. 18), in his translation of

I was told in the Ahaggar that youths may not say their 561
prayers in the presence of women for, in the course of genu- 562
flections and prostrations, they have to show their posteriors, 782
which is very "shocking"! On the other hand, old men can 834
pray before women without being indecent.

Many, besides, in order to say their prayers place them- 782
selves behind the imam (either an Arabian taleb or a Tuareg 788
who knows a little Arabic), and they make their genuflections, 793
saying, "Allahou akber" (God is the greatest) every time they
hear it said by the imam. That is all of their prayer.

There were many who told me that they did not observe 795
the fast of Ramadan, among others Badjloud, the amr'ar of 771
the Kel Ahnet. On the other hand, the Issoqqamaren
(fractions who have long been in contact with the Arabs and
still are) are more religious, and they all observe the fast.

Among the Ahaggar Tuareg there are, nevertheless, some 792
truly religious men, but they are known and pointed out and
pass for marabouts, for example, Moussa ag Amastane, Beketa
ag Ibrahim, and the Oulad El Mir'da and Oulad Mokhammed ag
Sadik.

Although the Tuareg is not religious, he nevertheless
has great respect for the marabouts whom he naively admires,
always on condition that these marabouts do not interfere with
him. Thus the marabout Beketa ag Ibrahim stated that the
dates coming from the Tidikelt, recently occupied by the
French, were forbidden by the religion. He changed his mind
later. But now, every time that he goes to ask an amr'id for
dates, the latter comments that they came from the Tidikelt
and are therefore forbidden by the religion, and Beketa answers,
"No. All that is over now," and accepts the dates.

Religious orders are quite widespread, especially among
the Issoqqamaren. Going by caravan to the Tidikelt or the
Touat, the Ahaggar have joined the order of the Tijaniyyah,
which numbers most of its adherents among them, and that
of the Qādiriyyah. Others (usually they all are those who have

made the pilgrimage /59/ to Mecca), have joined the order of the Senusi /Sanusiyyah. Ed./ on their way to Djer'boub.

But I doubt whether this affiliation is really sincere. All the members do not want to wear their beads around their necks, but keep them in their pockets or in their luggage while they are traveling. They say that if they wear them openly they would be accused of wanting to seduce women! Finally, they are not allowed to wear them any time that they do a reprehensible deed, that they have relations, even with their lawful wives, etc.

On the other hand, having remained naive and superstitious, they all believe in the efficacy of amulets, "tira," with which they are covered. There are even some who hang them on the necks of their meharis.

At each new moon the Tuareg says his prayer. His hands open like a book, he looks at the evening star and expresses the wish that he may be alive at the next moon.

At the feast of Mouloud (birth of the Prophet), they hold out their hands, saying, "Asarouf" (pardon), in order to have their sins forgiven. But if there is no taleb in the tribe to remind them of the exact date, they forget and do not think of it.

Chapter VIII

Superstitions. Beliefs

The Tuareg are very superstitious. Everywhere they see genii and demons, in the mountains, in the trees, in water-skins, etc.

Thus, in camp they do not want to go to bed beside water-skins or ashes, because of the genii, "alhinen" /60/ or ghosts, "kel esouf" (people of the void), who live there.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

342
417

Fig. 15.–Beehive huts within a round enclosure at the village of Iferouan in Northern Air. The construction seen on this photograph consists of arches made from lashed bundles of slender sticks fastened to poles embedded in the ground. Horizontal sticks are fastened to the arches which are supported by a central forked post with a short crossbar placed on its top. For a detailed description of this construction see Foureau 1905, III, p. 885 f. Beehive huts in Air are also made from boughs embedded in the ground and tied together at the top without a central post.

174 233 camel-breeding. The camel is known to have been very common in Tripolitania in the 4th century A.D. It was introduced to this region a few centuries before that time, and it was known in Egypt about the year 500 B.C. It is therefore probable that the camel was introduced into the Central Sahara even prior to the first Arab invasion of the 7th century. Camel-breeding seems to have certain traits in common with pastoral cow-breeding, and the oldest camel-breeders of Northern Africa may have lived in tents or huts of arch construction – most possibly in so-called barrel-vaulted dwellings, which appear to have been extremely common in Northern Africa throughout Antiquity (cf. Le Coeur 1937. – Feilberg 1944, p. 202 f.).

174 [342] [565] [184] [192] The T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents are apparently historically related to similar posts of Arab black tents in Eastern Algeria, Tunis, Tripolitania, and Eastern Libya. Considering the fact that T-shaped posts among the Northern Tuareg are claimed to be characteristic of the noble class, there may be a certain connection between noble Tuareg of the North and Arabs. I have mentioned above that in the North the term for noble Tuareg (*Ihaggaren*, sing. *Ahaggar*) is different from the term used in other Tuareg groups (*Imachaγen*, sing. *Amachaγ*). I have also